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FRONTLINE

China After Tiananmen

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China After Tiananmen

ANNOUNCER: It's been three years since the flowering of China's democracy movement and the brutal crackdown in Tiananmen Square.

IRV DRASNIN, Narrator: Never in the history of Chinese communist rule had there been so profound or so prolonged a demonstration of discontent.

ANNOUNCER: Tonight FRONTLINE producer Irv Drasnin returns to a country torn by the conflicting realities of economic reform and political repression.

ZHANG CHANGHAI, Editor, "Guangming Daily": *[through interpreter]* In a nutshell, the leadership of the Communist Party can't be questioned.

BAI WEI, General Manager: Nobody's going to be able to drag the people back. I don't believe that.

ANNOUNCER: Tonight, "China After Tiananmen," a FRONTLINE special report.

IRV DRASNIN: It's as if Tiananmen Square had risen from the ashes of June 4th. More than two years after the army took back the square from hundreds of thousands of demonstrators, the people have returned. We came here on the eve of National Day, the communist state's 42nd anniversary. On this night, the only slogan visible has all but disappeared everywhere else in the world: "Socialism is good." But there were subtle reminders of the government's power and, if only for a moment, at least one man let us know that not all was forgotten.

For seven weeks in the spring of 1989 the raised hands of protest dominated the Chinese capital. At first the government responded with warnings, then with martial law and then, in the early morning hours of June 4th, with troops and tanks. Hundreds, perhaps thousands, were killed or wounded. Nothing like it had ever happened before in the People's Republic. The government had been shaken to its very foundation.

Now, at the Gate of Heavenly Peace, all once again seems tranquil, but the forces of history are never far beneath the surface of Chinese life. Three years after Tiananmen they're still at work, as surprising as the sounds in the night. In the aftermath of June 4th, there are limits on free expression, but also on the state's ability to suppress it.

ROCK GROUP: *[singing] [subtitles] The 50's had that vigorous feel / As all the nation smelted steel / The 60's songs were sung on the commune stage / The 70's model operas were all the rage / The 80's was breakdance but that's not all / There was a fever for rock-and-roll.*

Mr. DRASNIN: This may be just a rock version of history, but it raises a question many Chinese are asking: "What's the 90's gonna bring?"

ROCK GROUP: *[singing] [subtitles] Still there's many songs to sing / What's the 90's gonna bring?*

Mr. DRASNIN: Their answer might be heard as an echo, all the way back to Tiananmen.

ROCK GROUP: *[singing] [subtitles] Perhaps we'll sing 'til heaven and earth grow dark and barren / Until stars rise over mountains and rivers / Until our world is turned around.*

Mr. DRASNIN: The band says it's only a song, no politics intended, but you

can't hear this music on state-controlled television or radio or in concert before large audiences. The words are provocative, especially to the sensitive ears of an aging and uncertain leadership.

What the 90's might bring is still in the hands of Deng Xiaoping, China's 87-year-old leader, and a determined gerontocracy hoping for revolutionary immortality. But behind these scenes, there's a power struggle that's been going on for a quarter century over who will replace them. Their age, their health and, for some, their policies have made an urgent issue of succession. The chosen successors can be found here, at the end of an unmarked road on the outskirts of Beijing. This is the Central Committee's school for Communist Party cadres, officials on the verge of middle age and more responsibility. This was as close as we could get to the government, to what the leadership was thinking about conditions inside China, about changes sweeping the communist world.

Ms. SHEN, Instructor: *[through interpreter]* We agree. International communism right now is at a low point. It's because of this that we, as Chinese communists, have our responsibility.

Mr. DRASNIN: One communist government after another has collapsed, but China's bureaucracy is still being schooled in dialectical materialism. Whoever controls the party line controls what's taught here. In a time of uncertainty, it's a hard line these officials will carry back to China's ministries and provinces.

It may not be apparent at first, but China also is a country in ferment. Its leaders are under pressure to bridge a growing gap between rhetoric and reality, to explain not just world events, but what's been happening at home.

XIN SHOULIANG, Academic Dean: *[through interpreter]* The way theory fits reality is very complicated. We at the Central Party School have always taught it as a key principle. Theory and practice, a key principle. Connecting theory and practice— the key is connecting. Connecting. Connecting is a terribly difficult thing.

Mr. DRASNIN: The most difficult problem in years was explaining the movement that filled China's streets during the spring of 1989. In the West it was seen as a popular outcry against corruption and the abuse of power. But this is the Chinese government's official version, portraying those events as a conspiracy of counter-revolutionaries that began in Beijing and spread to more than 100 other cities. It was called "bourgeois liberalization," a vaguely-defined label that could mean almost anything. Any word or deed that seemed threatening to the Party's leadership or authority became "bourgeois liberalization." This was the danger and the justification for a crackdown.

HE JINGZHI, Minister of Culture: *[through interpreter]* The term "liberalization" is sometimes misunderstood. It doesn't mean that we are against liberty, in any sense. That's not right. We're against those who would give unlimited freedom to bourgeois elements, who should be considered enemies of the people.

Mr. DRASNIN: Three years later the government is maintaining its vigilance over the political and intellectual life of the people. And in Tiananmen Square the surveillance cameras still scan the horizon for any visible signs of dissent. If any government agency has grown since the crackdown it's the state security apparatus. The white license plates are everywhere, of the police and of a new armed unit, the Wu Jing.

Especially since the fall of Soviet communism, a wary conservative

leadership has posted guards at the gates, especially at places like Beijing University. It was from here the first students marched to Tiananmen in April, 1989. Even three years later this and every other university we went to was closed to us.

We arrived in China at a time when its citizens were being warned against unauthorized contacts with foreign reporters. During five weeks of filming, an official escort was with us most of the time, but not all the time. Everywhere there were limits to what we could do and ways to test those limits. That's nothing new in China. The barriers have always been there. So have the surprises.

These walls have been there for centuries. They guard the ancient capital of Xian, 600 miles to the south and west of Beijing. This is the cradle of Chinese civilization, of China's greatest cultural achievements. By the 7th century, it was one of the great cities of the world. The walls of China were built to keep our foreign armies and ideas, to defend the orthodoxy of the state, but that orthodoxy may now be up against something that walls alone can't keep out.

This song, "It's Not That I Don't See," is by China's own rock idol, Cui Jian. It's about confusion and alienation, an anthem to China's growing generation gap. In competition with an older favorite, it's selling fast.

[interviewing] What do you see more of, Cui Jian or Mao Zedong?

TAPE SELLER: *[through interpreter]* Cui Jian.

Mr. DRASNIN: Do you have Madonna?

TAPE SELLER: *[through interpreter]* Madonna? Sold out.

Mr. DRASNIN: Today in China there's a credibility gap between the government moving in one direction and people moving in another, between what people are told and what they think. China has come to a crossroads, with no one path leading to the future. Many things seemed unclear. For example, what did "bourgeois liberalization" mean now in the lives of ordinary Chinese?

One place to look was at the Xian municipal opera house. These young women are preparing for class in a subject that's never been taught in China, not in the People's Republic. What they're learning is how to become fashion models. Four nights a week this is the Kadan school. That's "Kadan," a name borrowed from Pierre Cardin. This school is the inspiration of a 29-year-old entrepreneur, in business for himself.

[interviewing] What were you looking for, what were you hoping for when you started a school for fashion models?

FAN LIN, President, Kadan School: *[through interpreter]* A kind of understanding, a kind of ideal.

Mr. DRASNIN: And have you found it?

FAN LIN: *[through interpreter]* It's hard to explain in a few words.

Mr. DRASNIN: Maybe it's about the 90's in China, about new ways to make money.

[interviewing] What is this doing for the country? Is this school helping to build socialism?

FAN LIN: *[through interpreter]* You've asked a question that's hard to answer directly.

Mr. DRASNIN: Such questions are hard for many Chinese to answer these days.

MICHAEL JACKSON: *[recording] [singing] I'm going to make a change for once in my life / Going to feel real good / Going to make a difference / Going to make it right—*

Mr. DRASNIN: What is "bourgeois liberalization"?

FAN LIN: *[through interpreter]* If you don't understand it, how can I understand it?

Mr. DRASNIN: In the 43rd year of the People's Republic, these young people are seeking a future in step with Michael Jackson. Some 500 miles away in Chengdu, an important provincial capital in China's midwest, the city walls have come down. But at the site of student demonstrations in 1989, Mao Zedong has held his ground. Depending on where you look, there's no telling what might be fashionable these days. Ten years ago it was hard to find reminders of the Maoist era. Times have changed. On a side street, we found this museum and the man who created it with more than 20,000 pieces of Mao memorabilia. He says, "When you drink water, you can't forget the person who dug the well." That's a Chinese saying recently revived by the Party leadership, who hope many others will follow the example of Wang Anting.

[interviewing] Is any of this for sale?

WANG ANTING: *[through interpreter]* No, not for sale.

Mr. DRASNIN: Has anybody ever offered to buy this from you?

WANG ANTING: *[through interpreter]* There were two Americans who offered me $500,000. I wouldn't sell them. I'm just a common man, right? Besides, I want to keep them, pass them down to the next generation.

Mr. DRASNIN: I mean, who comes here to see all of this?

WANG ANTING: *[through interpreter]* Anyone. Chairman Mao's not afraid of being seen.

Mr. DRASNIN: Back in Beijing, they couldn't agree more. Since June 4th, Chairman Mao is being seen everywhere.

GU YUE: *[through interpreter]* My name is Gu Yue. Before, no one knew me. Now, because I play Mao Zedong, I'm well known. In acting the part of Mao, you ask "What is most difficult?" There are two sides of this. First is to be like him in appearance. Second is to be like him in spirit.

Mr. DRASNIN: For Chinese mindful of Mao's Cultural Revolution, the political terror of the 1960's and 70's, it's a complicated legacy. Only a few years ago films were dramatizing political problems and injustice. Not now. Not since the crackdown.

TENG JINXIAN, Director, National Film Bureau: *[through interpreter]* We don't want to make films which cause people to lose confidence in the future or to feel disappointed with the country. Film is supposed to boost morale and make people feel confident about the country, so we're cutting back on the films you asked about. We have purposely not allowed them to appear.

Mr. DRASNIN: Then I must ask you directly, is this one of the effects of the events of spring, 1989, this change, these changes in the film industry?

TENG JINXIAN: *[through interpreter]* I think there's a connection.

Mr. DRASNIN: The leadership's need is to make connections with a country grown tired of political indoctrination. One way is at the box office, starring Mao in his earlier years, as a leader of then-popular causes.

WANG JIXING, Film Director: *[through interpreter]* Of course, there are political requirements. Definitely. You can't consider things only artistically or commercially. You have to consider all three.

Mr. DRASNIN: On the set of a movie about Mao in the 1940's, a director must know the right answers, even if he can't always remember them.

WANG JIXING: *[through interpreter]* The Central Committee has made it

quite clear. It's just a matter of upholding the four cardinal principles. They are: Adhere to the leadership of the Communist Party, socialism, Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong thought and— what's it called? Let's see, four cardinal principles— Marxism, Mao Zedong thought— dictatorship of the proletariat. These are the principles. As long as you don't go against them, there is ample creative freedom.

Mr. DRASNIN: That artists and writers should loyally serve the state is part of Chinese tradition. So is dissent. *River Elegy* was a documentary seen on Chinese television one year before June 4th. Using the Yellow River and other icons of China's past, it questioned the relevance of Chinese tradition to the needs of a modern nation. To catch up with the world's most advanced countries, it argued, China must reach out and create a new civilization. In a culture heavy with symbols, the ideas and images of *River Elegy* aroused intense debate. After June 4th, the debate ended. *River Elegy* was banned. Two of its writers were arrested. Three others escaped into exile.

[interviewing] What has happened to those film makers who were making these films about the problems of reform and of official misconduct?

TENG JINXIAN: *[through interpreter]* Most of them are doing fine now. They are writing scripts according to the guidelines set forth by the state and raising funds to make films that will meet our requirements. A very small number are staying home, reading and studying, preparing themselves.

Mr. DRASNIN: Have any of them left China?

TENG JINXIAN: *[through interpreter]* Yes.

Mr. DRASNIN: The state still dominates intellectual life, and the mass media. Despite changes in Chinese life, political ideas remain a monopoly of the Party's leadership. That's one thing that hasn't changed.

ZHANG CHANGHAI, Editor, "Guangming Daily": *[through interpreter]* In a nutshell, the leadership of the Communist Party can't be questioned. The socialist road can't be questioned.

XIN SHOULIANG: Communism will inevitably triumph and it will triumph throughout the world. History will bear this out. No question about it. I'm certain of it.

Minister HE: *[through interpreter]* I can say that what has taken place in the Soviet Union will not happen in our country. If, in the past, it was said that the Soviet Union's today is China's tomorrow, now our answer to this is China's today is the Soviet Union's tomorrow.

Mr. DRASNIN: China's future may be decided at places like Beijing's Number Four Middle School. Ask seniors here about their heroes and there's no mention of Mao. The only politician named was the late prime minister, Zhou Enlai, a pragmatist identified with modernization.

[interviewing] Who are your personal heroes? Who do you look up to? Who do you admire?

1st STUDENT: I— I look— I look primary Zhou Enlai as my hero.

2nd STUDENT: I think I look artists more than anyone else. And among them, I— I think I admire Beethoven best.

3rd STUDENT: The hero in my heart? There's two. There are two. One is Premier Zhou and the other is in the NBA, Michael Jordan. I like his playing. I think Jordan is not play basketball only by technology, but also use his heart. So I love his playing.

Mr. DRASNIN: This school is called the top of the pagoda, the most prestigious high school in the capital. Students here are China's best and

brightest. They are among the relative few who will get a higher education. This school's graduates include government leaders, writers and artists, teachers and scientists, including a physicist whose name also is left unspoken, Fang Lizhi, China's best-known dissident, now living in America. It's one of the government's most pressing needs, to inspire this generation, to keep their loyalty, to keep them in the country.

[interviewing] Do any of you want to go to the United States to study?

4th STUDENT: Of course. I want to go. I suppose all of us want to go.

2nd STUDENT: If I have a chance.

4th STUDENT: Yes.

5th STUDENT: One should go to the United States for maybe one or twice in his life to see how life it could be. I think it's a— it's a state. It's a state that— you can't find it anywhere else in the world. Only in America, you can find it.

2nd STUDENT: Americans, in their families, they are really true with each other and free and they're free— they— maybe it's because the children can choose their own future and they're not very— not very— I think they are not obliged to do things, by the teacher or by their parents. And we're different.

Mr. DRASNIN: From a class in physics, there may be a history lesson, as well. From the May 4th movement of 1919 to the physicist Fang Lizhi, to the student leaders of Tiananmen, the connection has been made between science and democracy, between critical thought and reform, between free inquiry and a modern society.

2nd STUDENT: I think the job I do must be a little free, much freer from the government control. I hope this.

Mr. DRASNIN: At one of the government's key schools or anywhere else, that's not a hope you expect to hear expressed so openly, but the frustrations of youth are hard to contain. They keep breaking out, even in a courtyard of the old imperial palace, the Forbidden City in the very heart of Beijing.

JEFF KAFKA: My name is Jeff Kafka.

Mr. DRASNIN: Jeff Kafka?

Mr. KAFKA: Kafka.

Mr. DRASNIN: Where did you get that name?

Mr. KAFKA: Oh, I have a friend, a Jewish friend. I like Kafka's work very much.

Mr. DRASNIN: Why do you like Kafka?

Mr. KAFKA: Kafka— somehow, we are in the same— confronted with the same situation.

Mr. DRASNIN: What is your situation?

Mr. KAFKA: Oh, lack of— we could not live in truth. And none of the people really understand me in my factory or in any place.

Mr. DRASNIN: This place is a personnel office. For Chinese, it's a measure of independence that didn't exist before, the freedom to look for a better job. Local officials have recognized the needs of a changing workplace, if not the restlessness of China's recent college graduates.

[interviewing] Why have you come here today?

1st JOB SEEKER: *[through interpreter]* Because I'm not satisfied with my current job. I don't think it allows me to develop myself. There's no— there's really no— there's not much of a future in it.

2nd JOB SEEKER: I want to express myself anytime and I want to be a

successful girl, independent woman, maybe in a future day. That's my dream, yes.

Mr. DRASNIN: Is that possible in China today?

2nd JOB SEEKER: I don't care. I only care— I must try my best to realize my dream and I will do try my best. That's fine. I don't care the result. That is not very important for me. I only do that thing that I want to do.

Mr. DRASNIN: What many young Chinese want to do is become more personal. More and more they're looking away from careers in the state sector, away from the government and Party, away from politics.

3rd JOB SEEKER: Well, I don't care. Absolutely, I don't care about it. I mean, because I'm not a— a— a— a man very interested in politics. I just have interest of my job. Of course, a job that I like it very much, and my future. My payment, of course. Because now, you see the inflation, so I just— I very care about my payment.

Mr. DRASNIN: Payment and earning power— that's what most Chinese are thinking about. Ten years before Tiananmen, China's road to socialism took a dramatic turn, widespread reforms that began in 1979 with the Four Modernizations. It was an economic idea, not a political program.

The Stone Corporation is a high tech producer of computer technology, on the cutting edge of reform. This is private enterprise.

DUAN YONGJI, First Vice President, Stone Corporation: *[through interpreter]* There have been many opinions in China about why Stone has developed so quickly. In our view, the main reason is because we have new views about how to manage an enterprise, how to develop the economy in China, a new concept, a new way of thinking, really. This is the key to our rapid development.

Mr. DRASNIN: A decade of economic development is changing the Chinese economy and challenging that most cherished of socialist doctrines, central planning. The government is holding on to its four basic principles. So is the Stone Corporation.

DUAN YONGJI: *[through interpreter]* We raised the principles of four autonomous rights. We recruit our own personnel. We manage our own business. We're responsible for our profits and losses. And we raise our own funds. In these matters, the government doesn't interfere.

Mr. DRASNIN: In the 1980's Stone became a think tank on economic reform. Some of its researchers joined the demonstrations in Tiananmen Square. Two were arrested and Stone's former president fled to Paris. But Stone and more than 1,000 other companies are still here in China's first Silicon Valley, an area the government still calls an "experimental zone." Ten miles from Tiananmen Square, another revolution may be taking place that so far nothing's been able to stop.

[interviewing] The private sector— is this China's future?

DUAN YONGJI: *[through interpreter]* I think it should be the future because, compared to the state enterprises, every one of these private enterprises shows more vitality and more motivation for development.

Mr. DRASNIN: For great numbers of Chinese, this is no experiment. The entrepreneurial spirit is everywhere. Private enterprise has taken over the streets and shops. For them, the future is now. The government speaks of socialism with Chinese characteristics. This is one trait that looks, feels and operates suspiciously like capitalism.

Chinese know a business opportunity when they see one. The same is true for these Russians. In Moscow, Russians can demonstrate in Red Square, but for the bounty of a free-wheeling marketplace, they come to

Beijing, filling their bags with consumer goods that will be resold on the streets back home.

[interviewing] You buy these things to take to Moscow?

RUSSIAN MAN: In Moscow. *Da. Da.*

Mr. DRASNIN: It's a trade-off not lost on China's leaders: material gains for political stability.

[interviewing] How well can a private entrepreneur do in a shop like this? How much money can be made in this kind of business?

BAI WEI, General Manager: Oh, it's— we— it's a lot of money, I would say, to— especially to local companies. There's million of yuans per year, net, I would say, profit. We're talking profitwise. You could make up to 30 percent net profit.

Mr. DRASNIN: In Bai Wei's store, the background music is a folk song that goes back hundreds of years. The decor and fashions are right out of today's Hong Kong. For shoppers, it's a modernization of lifestyle. For the sales staff, there are incentives they won't find working for the state.

BAI WEI: Our company, the average seller is much higher than the state-owned companies. I would say double, at least double their salaries. But the people here is going to work harder than the state-owned companies. You know, the state company, they can drink tea and read newspaper. Here you have— at least we, the management, we have to drive the people to work hard and they seem to accept that because they think it's better for them to make more salary than sitting there, reading newspapers. And we are much more flexible in everything. You know, we don't discuss a lot of the policy things and we do what is best for the company.

DU YAN, China Survey Service: *[through interpreter]* Private enterprise obviously is the fastest-growing sector of the Chinese economy.

Mr. DRASNIN: Du Yan is a former government researcher who now runs a private research company. He must be cautious about what seems all too obvious.

DU YAN: *[through interpreter]* But the government is putting a lot of effort into solving the internal problems of the state sector. As to whether there's still life left in the state-run enterprises, I personally don't think it's reached the point where they can't be saved. But whether or not they'll soon be revitalized, I'd have to say there is more than one answer waiting for us.

Mr. DRASNIN: In places like Chengdu, the capital of Sichuan province, where many economic reforms began, the answer seems clear. Ten years ago, if you knew where to look, you could find a free market where farmers sold a few home-grown items. Not it's becoming a free economy. People here remember when this state-run corner market was the only place to buy meat. Today the private butcher shops stretch for blocks and have cornered most of the business. Just a few years ago, this marketplace was 90 percent state-owned. Now it's the other way around. Where there's room for competition, the state is losing. In the marketplace, as in lifestyle, there arises the inevitable question.

[interviewing] Are people here worried about "bourgeois liberalization?"

BAI WEI: We often heard that word, but really, what that means? The common people seem not to worry about it. They just buy, come to our store, buy what they like, you know? And I don't— I don't think they really worry about—

Mr. DRASNIN: Even if the government might worry about it.

BAI WEI: The government? I don't know. But I know how the young people

love to come to our store.

Mr. DRASNIN: The government's worry, how economic change might affect political expectations, is the unanswered question. For now, in state stores like this, the Party line is to compete. It's only a choice of suits, but in China the cut of one's clothes is often more than just a fashion statement.

BAI WEI: The open policy, nobody— I believe nobody's going to— to close it again because people now are already there. You know, like all the young people, now that you ask them to wear this Mao suits, who's going to wear it? I mean, even the most conservative Party members, as one working in our— in here, you know, in our company, and he always wear the Western suits. I mean, nobody is going to be able to drag the people back. I don't believe that. No. It's open. Open is open, you know?

Mr. DRASNIN: In the middle of Beijing there's an observatory that dates to the Ming dynasty. In the 17th century, astronomers urged the emperor to adopt a more accurate Western calendar, a new way of thinking. It's said the conservatives at the imperial court had them executed. Against a changing skyline, that's a reminder that China doesn't change easily. Across the street is the Academy of Social Sciences, where may scholars actively supported late 20th century reforms. Immediately after June 4th, the building was occupied by the army. That's something for modern innovators like a Stone corporation executive to think about.

DU YAN: *[through interpreter]* Perhaps Stone can provide China's economic reforms with a new way of thinking, a Stone to hold up the heavens. You may know the ancient Chinese legend about how long ago, the sky collapsed. A goddess named Nu Wa propped up the sky with a stone, a stone to hold up the sky. But if we don't do a good job, we might be called "the Stone that blocks the road."

Mr. DRASNIN: There's one road that's blocked virtually every day with bumper-to-bumper traffic. This is a major highway on China's southern coast. The traffic is headed south, toward China's special economic zones and just beyond, to Hong Kong. If there's an economic law of gravity, this may be it and it may just be pulling China into the future. In theory, this is just another outpost of socialism. Until the mid-1980's, this land was being used to grow bananas. Now it's a special economic zone designed to attract foreign companies and foreign money to help finance economic development.

LIU WENZHE, Vice Chairman: *[through interpreter]* I believe there's no force that can stop China from opening up to the outside world. Maybe some people have different points of view on certain issues, but these are merely internal disagreements. As for possible interference, it's not a big deal. Through our work we can get rid of it.

Mr. DRASNIN: Not just now, but for 100 years the pace of reform — how far, how fast — has been an issue in China. So has the role of foreigners in Chinese life. The official line is to prevent contamination by capitalism while holding open the door to foreign investors. Nowhere is the Party's strategy more evident — push ahead with the new economics — but, especially since Tiananmen, keep a firm grip on the political controls, on the old ideology.

LIU WENZHE: *[through interpreter]* We need young people who are both Red and expert, who uphold the four principles, who understand technology, who love to work and serve the people. These are the kind of young people we need.

Mr. DRASNIN: But just a few miles away, "Red and expert" were hard to find. We asked how many Communist Party members were in this rural

township. The local Party secretary didn't know. Young people, it seems, are being motivated by something else. It's private and local enterprise that's driving the socialist economy. This fan factory's a rural business, independent of the state. There's trouble in the state sector, which now produces barely half of China's national income and is billions of dollars in debt. In this part of the economy, you may find a Communist Party member, but his ideas aren't always what you'd expect to hear.

CHOU MINXIAN, Factory Manager: *[through interpreter]* We are using management methods from overseas, especially Hong Kong and Macao. State-run enterprises can't make all these changes. For example, we have the power to hire and fire. State managers don't dare go that far.

Mr. DRASNIN: The political study session has given way to the production meeting. The measure of their success will be profits, not politics.

CHOU MINXIAN: *[through interpreter]* Before, we never imagined owning things like a color TV, a videotape recorder, karaoke. Now every family has them. Some better-off families have central air conditioning. Private telephones are common. This is one change in our lives. Also, we have more contact with the outside. We have a pretty good idea about what the outside world is really like.

Mr. DRASNIN: Rising out of the fields of southern China is an economic transformation that can't help but affect the political landscape. In the Chinese countryside there is emerging a new world, of the suburban peasant.

[interviewing] What do you earn to be able to live like this?

Minister HE: *[through interpreter]* An annual income of 80,000 to 100,000 will do it.

Mr. DRASNIN: One hundred thousand yuan is about $20,000 U.S. dollars, at least 100 times what Mr. He used to earn. He owns the house and a motorcycle and watches Hong Kong television because, he says, it's more interesting.

[interviewing] Some people might look around at the way you're living and say, "Isn't this bourgeois liberalization?"

Minister HE: *[through interpreter]* Not at all. I'd say this issue doesn't even exist. No, this doesn't affect us at all.

CHOU MINXIAN: It's just semantics. People want better lives, a better education, stability. That's what they want. So it's just a choice of words. In the West, they call it "freedom" and "democracy." The way we interpret this is living and working in peace and happiness. This is the biggest wish of the common people.

Mr. DRASNIN: For the people of the Pearl River delta, known for their ambition and independence, it's income, not ideology, that counts. Moving down river toward the outside world, Beijing and it's politics seem far, far away.

CHOU MINXIAN: *[through interpreter]* We don't worry about that because it's the tide of history. No one can stop it. It's what the people want.

Mr. DRASNIN: What has Beijing worried is what the tide is bringing into Guangzhou, better known in the West as Canton. This city of six million is firmly situated on the banks of international commerce. This is the capital of a rich province that's produced rice and rebellion. It was a training ground and source of revenue for China's nationalist movements of the 1920's.

It's hard to measure the political mood today, but Guang Zhou has become a regional power center whose interests can't be ignored. In the spring

of 1989, thousands stopped traffic here in support of the demonstrators in Tiananmen. But, the story is told, not until after 9:00 PM when the shops were closed.

Today these commuters are headed for the business district. To get there, you take the Pearl River bridge to the statue, an imposing monument to the P.L.A., the People's Liberation Army, and turn left. There's a restaurant across the street, the Chao Zhou. As much as anywhere else in town, it can give you a sense of what's important in Guang Zhou. Just a generation back, they might have been working the fields. Now it's the phones. In this den of private enterprise, cadres and capitalists mingle and make deals. Nobody wants to be left out, including the government. It's the state that made this deal, but it has a familiar ring to it.

BARRY WONG, General Manager: The Avon lady has come to China and she has a future in China. I mean, they have a mass market here, a potential mass market here for cosmetics.

Mr. DRASNIN: How many salespersons are you training? How many women do you have working for you?

BARRY WONG: Well, so far we have recruit 6,000 sales representative. We came here just only for business and the business looks booming.

Mr. DRASNIN: So you're not worried about "bourgeois liberalization?"

BARRY WONG: As far— I don't— I don't worry about that, yeah. All I worry about is the sales. Yeah.

Mr. DRASNIN: It's the Ministry of Light Industry that's investing in the future of cosmetic products for the new socialist woman. For Avon, there's the old and often elusive hope of the China market, to sell just one of anything to one billion Chinese.

The economy here may be the fastest-growing in the world, producing in Guang Zhou a new white-collar class of higher income, of higher expectations, and of consumerism. The television antennas that were removed in the crackdown that followed June 4th are up again, again bringing in news and programming from across the border. But this isn't Hong Kong television. This is CCTV, Chinese television, seen from Guang Zhou to Beijing and everywhere else in China. How do you sell a computer on Chinese television? Have it demonstrated by a model at the Great Wall. In Chinese, this is part of *Kaifang*, opening up, China's open door policy. In any language, it means a more open society.

There's always been a market for this, but until now, never on a public thoroughfare. In China it's called "yellow literature," sold here despite government attempts to wipe it out, confirmation, perhaps, that almost anything's possible in Guang Zhou if you have the money. Sex, violence, gossip— the covers promise more than these magazines deliver, but could this be "bourgeois liberalization?" Maybe so.

There's also no hiding the fact that China has a growing drug problem, still small by Western standards but big enough to attract attention. It's another sign that the government's grip on social controls is weakening, regardless of tough talk by Party regulars.

LIU WENZHE: *[through interpreter]* When we open the window of reform, some flies and mosquitoes may come in and when they do, we'll take measures to control them. We'll just kill the flies and mosquitoes, so we can resist the invasion of decadent influences like bourgeois ideas and lifestyles.

Mr. DRASNIN: It may not be that easy. There's a rising crime rate. Next to the birth control notice there's a wanted poster. There are heavy penalties for drugs and pornography, for murder, rape and embezzlement. And just

down the street from here, for another crime against the state.

[interviewing] You were in prison?

LIN XIANGGAO: Oh, yeah. Yeah. Twice. The first time, 1955, for 16 months. The second time, 20 years, from 1958 to '78, 20 years. And when I came out—

Mr. DRASNIN: Why? Why were you in prison? Why did they put you in prison?

Pastor LIN: They said I was an anti-revolutionary.

Mr. DRASNIN: His crime was preaching the gospel. Pastor Lin is 67 years old and, like his father before him, a Baptist minister. There's an official church in China for all religions, sanctioned and controlled by the government. This isn't one of them and the people who come here aren't converts from another pre-communist generation. Most of them are young adults, children of the revolution.

Pastor LIN: We have over 1,000 people. Tonight, 300. Tomorrow morning, 300. Sunday morning, 300. Tuesday morning, 200. Wednesday evening, 300. Saturday evening, 300. Altogether, 1,100. Many are believers that tithe here and they bring some non-believers in. Do you know what happened to us last year, February 22nd?

Mr. DRASNIN: What happened?

Pastor LIN: Two, two, two— February 22nd. The government closed our church. About 60 or 50 in uniform came up and took the things away— Bibles, spiritual books, fans, amplifier and many, many other things.

Mr. DRASNIN: Why did they come here? Why did the police come here?

Pastor LIN: They come and closed our church.

Mr. DRASNIN: The authorities would keep it closed, but members of the congregation kept coming back. Christians are few, a tiny percentage of the population. But despite stricter government controls, there's been a growing interest in religion.

[interviewing] What are they afraid of? What frightens them about your church?

Pastor LIN: I do not know their purpose, but they don't like pure faith in China. They want political church.

Mr. DRASNIN: Are you afraid that the police might come again?

Pastor LIN: Oh, perhaps they will come tomorrow. I do not know. But I'm ready.

Mr. DRASNIN: The government is sensitive about religion in China, about any faith that might challenge the scriptures of the state. But on a warm, muggy Saturday night there are many people looking here and elsewhere.

At a time of tight controls on the arts and literature and media, you look for revelations where you can. In a country where two thirds of the population is under 35, that might be in a karaoke club. Sometimes popular thinking can be found in a popular song like this one: "I'm Not a Bad Kid." It includes the words, "I'm not the bad kid you say I am. My thinking has left you behind. This generation is mine. This is our time."

For more and more Chinese, this new urban lifestyle represents not only a new way of thinking, but a new way of living. In a dozen years of reform, despite political restraints and setbacks, an up-and-coming generation has travelled a great distance. For many others, there's still some ground to cover.

There's no one China. There's the urban terrain of Guang Zhou and Shanghai and Beijing. And there's the yellow earth, the landscape that goes

back thousands of years. One of every seven people on earth lives in the Chinese countryside. That's about 70 percent of China's population. In these hills and valleys, archeologists found the roots of Chinese civilization. It's also the spiritual birthplace of Chinese communism.

The caves of Yenan became sanctuary and headquarters for the Chinese communist movement in the years before the Red Army reached Beijing in 1949. The Long March ended here, the epic retreat of 6,000 miles which established the character and myths of Chinese communism. This is where Mao and his followers argued and experimented and finally shaped their vision of China's future and where, to this day, you can find veterans who were there and who remain loyal to their cause, men like Zhang Qingyi.

ZHANG QINGYI, Long March Veteran: *[through interpreter]* We say, stick to Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong thought, but there are a few people who don't think this way. We must persuade them, educate them, help them to change their minds.

Mr. DRASNIN: In this former outpost, the Party seeks to maintain its claim to the future and its hold on the past. Survivors of the Long March know what it means to never give up. The revolution defined entire generations, becoming the source of their ideas and values. In the old photographs, the cadres coming back to Yenan still find inspiration and even an old comrade or two. Perhaps it's only a museum now and should be left undisturbed, recalling a time when the Long March generation led a popular struggle against injustice and inequities in Chinese life. But already in Yenan, in this room, the Party was formulating policies to control the arts and media, campaigning against liberalism and dissent. It's a complex heritage that the veteran Zhang brings to the era of reform.

ZHANG QINGYI: *[through interpreter]* I think what we need to reform is the way people think. Teach them to love communism, to love socialism, to love the state, to love the people, to love the Party. This would be the biggest reform of all.

Mr. DRASNIN: It's the Long March generation that still holds power, that still struggles with the meaning of the revolution and of reform. It was into these hills that Mao brought his promise of socialist equality and it was the poverty and discontent of the peasant that made his revolution possible. Here, as elsewhere, Mao's communes are gone, but compared with suburban farmers the people living here still are victims of geography. They must still carve an existence out of the hillside, 100 families on a few thousand acres of usable land. In an era of change, Temple Gorge Village seems a place frozen in time.

[interviewing] In the Soviet Union, the leaders there say that communism has been a tragic mistake, a failure.

WANG JINGFU, Party Secretary: *[through interpreter]* Well, we don't really know too much about that because it's in the Soviet Union, in their country. But over here, we don't— we don't understand it very much. We're not too clear about what's going on over there.

LI ZHANWEN, Village Head: *[through interpreter]* Our concerns are northern Shanxi, our peasants. We want to uphold socialism, Marxism-Leninism. We just want to carry on the spirit of Yenan, self-reliance. That's all we're interested in. We don't care about other stuff. We don't think about it. It's beyond us.

Mr. DRASNIN: The meaning of reform can very much depend on where you live. No one here makes 50,000 or 100,000 yuan a year. It's more like 1,500. They're doing better now, but they're also being left behind with yesterday's idealism, an egalitarian vision that's fast disappearing in China.

[interviewing] What does socialism mean to you?

LI ZHANWEN: *[through interpreter]* Socialism is to make everybody rich. Socialism is to make all people rich. If some people are poor, everyone should be poor. If some people are rich, everyone should be rich.

Mr. DRASNIN: And do you think that is what's happening in China today?

WANG JINGFU: *[through interpreter]* In our village, everyone is basically equal, comparatively equal in this respect. There are no extremely rich people or extremely poor people. We have statistics.

Mr. DRASNIN: In Yenan you can feel the weight of the Party's traditions and ideology, but even here, where you might least expect it, you can hear disappointment and concern about the Party's failings, even among its most devoted followers.

ZHANG QINGYI: *[through interpreter]* There have been instances of corruption and embezzlement within the Party. Those students in Beijing demanded that we do something to change that. Were they right to raise such an issue? Yes, I think they were very right, very right. There are corrupt and bad things within the Party and they should be wiped out. Is this still a problem? Yes, it's still there.

Mr. DRASNIN: At the Central Committee's school for cadres in Beijing, official misconduct, corruption, is an issue that won't go away.

XIN SHOULIANG: *[through interpreter]* There truly is corruption within the Party. This issue has become a matter of concern for the entire Party and it must be solved. If not, it will lead to bigger problems and more trouble.

Mr. DRASNIN: The country's leadership remains mostly hidden inside limousines and walled compounds, their public appearances carefully managed and publicized in a media they control. Beneath this updated rendering of socialist realism, the Communist Party has an image problem. You won't find it in the streets, but it's there, a problem of style and of substance and, since June 4th, about the role of the People's Liberation Army. No image has been stronger or more respected or more important to restore than the P.L.A.'s.

The ballad belongs to the Yenan period, a song dedicated to the 359th Division. The club belongs to the P.L.A. in partnership with a private trading company. "Let's walk forward," she sings, "and give our flowers to the model soldiers." The P.L.A. has marched into the marketplace, an investor in the PuTong 100, Guang Zhou's hottest nightspot.

Her song includes the words, "Inside trading, outside profits, as easy as you please, people getting rich, do a little business." At the PuTong 100 two big ideas pass in the night, sharing the same stage, sharing one benefit of reform. This is sometimes called "cadre capitalism." Members of the state apparatus, the Party, the police and security bureaus, the military— all are also in business for themselves. There's now way of knowing where the money goes, but it's every bureaucracy for itself.

This is another P.L.A. investment, Beijing's first 24-hour health club. According to the brochure, facilities here include a jiggle bath with massage, a karaoke club, billiards, Mah-Jongg and a car wash. Or try the Palace, one of the finest hotels in the capital, an investment of the P.L.A. general staff. These investments that produce hard currency are the best of all. And for upwardly mobile Chinese, they offer the best jobs. But for the leadership, there's an ideological price to pay.

[interviewing] What is becoming of the communist ideal, the Maoist ideal

of the classless society?

DU YAN: *[through interpreter]* As an ideal it still exists, but not as a reality. Not now.

Mr. DRASNIN: Ideals may be one victim of reform. There are others, more visible now than they have been for years. The iron rice bowl of Chinese socialism that virtually guaranteed everyone the basic necessities is beginning to show cracks. Now there's room for failure, to be left on the streets, to pedal or to plead your case for charity. For Chinese, the sound of a traditional violin in the hands of a beggar has always conveyed the loneliness of the abandoned. The sign tells this man's story of being labeled a reactionary 30 years ago, of going to jail, of losing his family, his health, his livelihood.

Beggars are few, but China's jobless now number in the tens of millions, mostly peasants who traveled to the cities in search of a new life. Look closely at the far side of this bridge and you'll see them. It's an alarming sight to a government that's always been able to control the movement of its citizens. Throughout China there are an estimated 100 million or more looking for jobs, for an urban lifestyle, for their share of economic opportunity. In the age of reform, it's another marketplace called the "floating labor market."

Wherever we went, we discovered people hoping to change their lives, looking for ways to express themselves. In Guang Zhou, we found them in China's first modern dance troupe.

1st DANCER: *[through interpreter]* I like it because I can use both my mind and body. I can express myself. And I like other people to see me.

2nd DANCER: *[through interpreter]* I can express what's in my heart, what I really want to say. I feel I've been liberated emotionally and physically. That's why I like modern dance.

Mr. DRASNIN: In China, modern dance stretches the limits of tradition and creates new possibilities. As elsewhere in a changing society, it requires a new way of thinking.

YANG MEIQI, Artistic Director: *[through interpreter]* They feel like, as artists, they have gained a new life. In the classroom of modern dance, they feel completely free. They feel they can fully express what they're feeling inside.

Mr. DRASNIN: Three years after Tiananmen, Chinese can't always speak directly. In a society where art is politics, art forms committed to free expression assume even greater meaning. The basic meaning of what happened in Tiananmen Square may simply be people wanting a greater say in their own lives. China is not America. For most Chinese, democracy is only a vague idea, but many felt the need for another reform, in how they were governed. But at the Party's school for cadres, there's no backing down from the official version.

CADRE: *[through interpreter]* During June 4th, 1989, there were an extremely small number of people wanting a "bourgeois liberalization," who jumped out and agitated some students. But the majority of workers, peasants, intellectuals and P.L.A. soldiers, including cadres at all levels, were not happy at all with what they were doing.

Mr. DRASNIN: To the outside world and to many Chinese, it didn't look that way. "Are we few in number?" they chanted. "Not true." "Are we conspirators?" "Not true. Not true." "Long live the people," they chanted. Before the wave of political change swept through Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union, there was Beijing spring.

XIN SHOULIANG: *[through interpreter]* Some people opposed the principles of the Party and stirred up winds and waves. I didn't agree with this. I can't condone it because there was no way such actions could solve Chinese problems today. No way it can solve these problems. The situation reached a stage where a solution had to be found. What kind of solution? There was no choice. We finally had to call out the troops. Consequently, there were some losses, some dead and wounded. That's what happened.

Mr. DRASNIN: Exactly what happened will probably never be known. How many died, were wounded, went to prison? This much is clear. Beginning the night of June 3rd, the government was an instrument of repression, not reform. For a Long March veteran of the Red Army, that's hard to accept.

ZHANG QINGYI: *[through interpreter]* Look, if people said the P.L.A. crushed the students— never. Didn't happen. Speaking very frankly, if we seek truth from facts, this didn't happen. Our P.L.A. has never suppressed the people because the relationship between the army and the people is like that between fish and water. Between fish and water. The events that happened in Beijing we saw on television with our own eyes. The P.L.A. acted just like we in the Red Army acted in the past. We didn't resort to force or beat or abuse people. We said we'd try to persuade the people. If some people didn't understand, we used persuasion to change their minds, but we never opened fire on the people. It's absolutely forbidden and it never happened. And that's a fact.

Mr. DRASNIN: Even Chinese who saw it didn't want to believe it. A people's army had been ordered to fire on its own people. In 1949, the People's Liberation Army took Beijing without firing a shot, but not 40 years later. In the early morning hours of June 4th, the lights were turned off in Tiananmen Square. It was a time of darkness, of tragedy for Chinese of all generations, but most of all for members of a generation whose political faith had been shattered, for whom politics had become too great a risk to take.

2nd JOB SEEKER: I don't care about— I dare not care. It's true, yes. It's true. Because politics is a problem, often it makes people face some cruel things, face some such like "death" and "blood." I hate that thing. Yes.

Mr. DRASNIN: On the day of June 4th, all the powerful emotions and images of that time seemed captured in one last confrontation. Like the student movement itself, it was a challenge— direct, bold, naive perhaps, but historic. For Chinese, how history records these events matters. It's an issue of credibility, of legitimacy that some day the government will also have to confront.

[interviewing] At some point in the future, will the history of June 4th have to be rewritten?

DU YAN: *[through interpreter]* Just like dealing with any historic event. The Chinese people, including the governing party, the Chinese Communist Party, has the need and the intelligence to reflect. As to when to reflect and to come up with new perspectives, it depends on how and when the historic moment is mature.

XIN SHOULIANG: *[through interpreter]* No. As time goes on, it will be proven even more strongly that the measures adopted then were correct. Without such measures, there would be persistent chaos in China.

Mr. DRASNIN: To the leadership, chaos also means opposition to its monopoly on power. Their gamble is that a changing China will trade political rights for prosperity. Every day the government makes its presence felt in Tiananmen Square, but being here you can't help but feel that the movement of reform, of raised expectations of a more open society, seems ir-

repressible. No longer is China isolated, a universe unto itself of one mind or vision. At the center of the square is the monument to the people's heroes. It was built for the martyrs of the revolution and was headquarters for the students' pro-democracy movement. It's a legacy and a reminder for whoever holds power: In China, too, there's the will of the people.

ANNOUNCER: Next time on FRONTLINE, boxing promoter Don King.

SETH ABRAHAM: Don's hair, his jewelry, his lingo— it's all an act. It's to confuse. It's to obscure.

JOE SPINELLI: But essentially, he's a con man. It's the con man as buffoon.

DON KING: So I don't have no use for you, Jack Newfield!

JACK NEWFIELD: You didn't answer the question.

ANNOUNCER: Reporter Jack Newfield investigates Don King, his criminal past and his handling of young fighters. "Don King, Unauthorized."

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